

304 Hart and Marquis both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [304] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairstyle.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. 285 Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [285] knitting net fabrics for leatherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of mariti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

● 323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katsur (1901) has published illustrations of a number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in Mandarucu territory. He reports that the Mandarucus still make such stone [172] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys. [324]

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the Mandarucus and their neighbors, they traded their leatherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, mission meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajós River Mandarucus have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are 616

TAPERS AND TRAPPERS

439 Mundurucu traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucu product.

177
439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucu acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people. Aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

321
314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439
177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucu, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucu. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 85° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucu villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucu, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

415
323 A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucu dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, firearms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucu barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper tamping pan used to make manioc flour.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439 contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648 and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally 797 concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184 household shows that the people there own many more 77 manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- 422 ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- 523 ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued 286 by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips 291. Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress. The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439 as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177 ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184 are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177 articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439 ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177 teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797 metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- 658 able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected, the people are not deeply affected by the missionary teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and respected without any commitment or great interest on the part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

/19 cont./

422 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for
 462 the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual
 division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products
 [525] of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and
 [323] pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is
 done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors
 of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by
 these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private
 property.

462 Throughout the material culture of the Mundurukú, as well,
 [165] the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident.
 This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards
 agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case,
 where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks
 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of
 the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusive-
 ly by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward;
 but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such
 as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the
 pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot
 of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the sys-
 tem of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following
 picture:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	..
2. Determining the size and shape	..
3. Clearing the undergrowth	..
4. Felling the trees	..
5. Burning the felled vegetation	..
6. Piling up the remaining brush	..